

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 152145  
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PA-02 INR-10 HA-05 SS-15 SP-02  
INRE-00 SSO-00 /047 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:MCFINROW:GB  
APPROVED BY EUR/SE:JHMORTON  
-----077526 151643Z /43

O R 151614Z JUN 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL ISTANBUL IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
USMISSION USNATO

UNCLAS STATE 152145

LONDON FOR NIMETZ, VEST, AND EWING

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, TU, GR, CY

SUBJECT: PRESS ITEMS ON CAMPAIGN TO LIFT TURKISH ARMS  
EMBARGO

FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF JUNE 15 PRESS ITEMS:

1. NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE BY GRAHAM HOVEY ENTITLED QTE  
CARTER ACCUSED OF BREAKING PLEDGE BY ASKING END OF TURKISH  
ARMS BAN UNQTE:

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BEGIN TEXT:WASHINGTON, JUNE 14 - THE HOUSE MAJORITY WHIP  
AND THREE OTHER DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE AC-  
CUSED PRESIDENT CARTER OF GOING BACK ON A PROMISE TO MAKE  
REPEAL OF THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY CONTINGENT ON  
PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE.  
AS THE FOUR MEMBERS PREPARED A CAMPAIGN TO PERSUADE  
THEIR COLLEAGUES TO MAINTAIN THE EMBARGO, MR. CARTER CALLED  
ITS REPEAL QTE THE MOST IMMEDIATE AND URGENT FOREIGN POLICY  
DECISION TO BE MADE BY THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE SESSION  
UNQTE.

THE PRESIDENT VOLUNTEERED HIS STATEMENT IN OPENING HIS WHITE HOUSE NEWS CONFERENCE, CONTINUING A VIGOROUS ADMINISTRATION DRIVE, IN WHICH THE NATION'S TOP CIVILIAN AND MILITARY OFFICIALS ARE PARTICIPATING, TO INFLUENCE A CRUCIAL HOUSE VOTE ON REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO DURING THE LAST

WEEK IN JUNE.

REPRESENTATIVES JOHN BRADEMAS OF INDIANA AND BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL OF QUEENS AND SENATORS THOMAS F. EAGLETON OF MISSOURI AND PAUL S. SARBANES OF MARYLAND WERE PREPARING, MEANWHILE, TO MAKE PUBLIC A PACKAGE OF DOCUMENTS THAT THEY SAY DEMONSTRATES THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS UNDERMINED THE EMBARGO AND QTE SIGNALLED TURKEY THAT IT NEED NOT TAKE THE EMBARGO SERIOUSLY UNQTE. THE DOCUMENTS WERE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SUPPORT FOR GREEKS' POSITION. MR. BRADEMAS, AS THE WHIP, OR ASSISTANT MAJORITY LEADER, HOLDS THE THIRD HIGHEST POSITION IN THE HOUSE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY HIERARCHY. HE AND HIS THREE COLLEAGUES, USUALLY SUPPORTERS OF ADMINISTRATION POLICIES, HAVE LONG BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO THE GREEK SIDE IN THE CYPRUS DISPUTE AND HAVE DEFENDED THE EMBARGO AS A VEHICLE FOR ENCOURAGING TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS. UNCLASSIFIED

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THEIR CURRENT CAMPAIGN IS DIFFERENT IN TONE AND SCOPE FROM THEIR PREVIOUS DISSENTS ON THE ISSUE, HOWEVER. THEY SEEM TO IMPLY THAT THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF AND OTHER ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS HAVE INDULGED IN DEVIOUS AND MISLEADING BEHAVIOR IN THE EFFORT TO GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED.

QTE THE ADMINISTRATION'S REQUEST THAT THE EMBARGO BE LIFTED QTE BECAUSE IT HASN'T WORKED UNQTE STANDS LOGIC ON ITS HEAD UNQTE, THEY SAID IN A STATEMENT ACCOMPANYING THE DOCUMENTS. QTE THE EMBARGO HAS NOT WORKED BECAUSE THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN UNWILLING OR UNABLE TO MAKE IT WORK UNQTE.

THEY CHARGE THAT DESPITE QTE UNEQUIVOCAL PRIVATE ASSURANCES THAT A LINKAGE EXISTED BETWEEN ARMS FOR TURKEY AND A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS UNQTE, THE ADMINISTRATION ASKED FOR REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO QTE WITHOUT REQUIRING FROM TURKEY EITHER SUBSTANTIVE ACTIONS OR SIGNIFICANT PROPOSALS REGARDING CYPRUS UNQTE.

WHITE HOUSE MEETING CITED. THE FOUR REFER SPECIFICALLY TO A MEETING WITH MR. CARTER AT THE WHITE HOUSE ON APRIL 22, 1977, WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS QTE CONCERNED ABOUT THE DIRECTION OF EMERGING ADMINISTRATION POLICY TOWARD TURKEY UNQTE. THE STATEMENT SAYS: QTE THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT, IN LIGHT OF THE THEN-UPCOMING ELECTIONS IN TURKEY, HE COULD NOT DECLARE PUBLICLY THAT THERE WAS A LINKAGE BETWEEN A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS AND ARMS FOR TURKEY, BUT HE ASSURED THEM THAT SUCH A LINKAGE DID EXIST.

QTE DESPITE THIS UNEQUIVOCAL STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT UNQTE, THE STATEMENT WENT ON, QTE THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION REVERSED ITS FIELD AND, BEFORE TURKEY HAD TAKEN ANY

ACTION ON CYPRUS, AND BEFORE TURKISH PROPOSALS HAD EVEN BEEN SUBMITTED, ASKED FOR THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO UNQTE. QTE NOT SURPRISINGLY, WITH ALL INCENTIVE TO TAKE ACTION ON A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT HAVING BEEN ELIMINATED, TURKEY HAS AS YET TAKEN NO ACTION AT ALL. MOREOVER, ITS PROPOSALS UNCLASSIFIED

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RESPECTING CYPRUS WERE SO POOR AS TO BE GENERALLY REGARDED IN THE DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY AS VIRTUALLY MEANINGLESS UNQTE. END TEXT.

2. EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN ENTITLED QTE CARTER'S HIGH-STAKES FOREIGN-POLICY TEST UNQTE, FROM THE WASHINGTON POST.

BEGIN TEXT: THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE PRESIDENCY IS LOSING CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY TO CONGRESS IS DRAMATIZED BY TWO PRIVATE MEETINGS IN WHICH THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION FELT COMPELLED TO BRING MEMBERS OF CONGRESS INTO FACE-TO-FACE DEALINGS WITH FOREIGN LEADERS IN TRYING TO REPEAL THE TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO.

MEETING NO. 1: LATE LAST MONTH, SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS VANCE INVITED FIVE CONGRESSMEN FIGHTING TO REPEAL THE ARMS EMBARGO INTO HIS OFFICE TO PLOT STRATEGY WITH NONE OTHER THAN THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR.

MEETING NO. 2: ON SUNDAY EVENING, JUNE 4, CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS OF THE GREEK LOBBY WENT TO MANHATTAN FOR A 2-1/2 HOUR NEGOTIATING SESSION WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER BULENT ECEVIT IN A UNITED NATIONS PLAZA HOTEL SUITE. VANCE HIMSELF HELPED ARRANGE THE MEETING, USING U.N. AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG AS INTERMEDIARY.

THOSE TWO MEETINGS REFLECT PRESIDENT CARTER'S FRUSTRATION IN CONDUCTING FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE DRAIN OF EXECUTIVE POWER FOLLOWING VIETNAM AND WATERGATE. INDEED, HE FACES THE POSSIBILITY OF A HUMILIATING FAILURE TO LIFT THE THREE-YEAR-OLD EMBARGO, WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES BOTH FOR THE WESTERN ALLIANCE AND HIS OWN WORLDWIDE PRESTIGE. THE STRATEGY SESSION IN VANCE'S OFFICE INFURIATED THE GREEK LOBBY, WHOSE OWN ACTIVITIES HAD PROMPTED IT. QTE OUTRAGEOUS' UNQTE ONE EMINENT PRO-GREEK LEADER TOLD US. QTE THAT'S THE FIRST TIME I KNOW OF THAT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS UNCLASSIFIED

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RESS HAVE MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR OF A FOREIGN COUNTRY IN THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE TO PLOT CAPITOL HILL STRATEGY UNQTE. THE SUNDAY-EVENING MEETING BETWEEN ECEVIT AND THE THREE

PRINCIPAL LEADERS OF THE GREEK LOBBY--REP. JOHN BRADEMAS (D-IND.) REP. BEN ROSENTHAL (D-N.Y.) AND SEN. PAUL SARBANES (D-MD.) SOLVED NOTHING. THE CONGRESSMEN COULD NOT NEGOTIATE TURKISH TROOP AND TERRITORIAL WITHDRAWALS FROM CYPRUS. ECEVIT COULD NOT PERSUADE THEM THAT CON-

TINUING THE ARMS EMBARGO WOULD PROVE FATAL TO A STRONG NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ALLIANCE.

BRADEMAS AND HIS COLLEAGUES RETURNED TO WASHINGTON MORE DETERMINED THAN EVER TO DEFEAT THE PRESIDENT'S EFFORTS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO. MAJORITY WHIP BRADEMAS, NO. 3 DEMOCRAT IN THE HOUSE, IS NOW PUTTING FINISHING TOUCHES ON A BILL OF PARTICULARS THAT CHARGES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WITH SYSTEMATIC AND INTENTIONAL EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE THE CONGRESSIONALLY IMPOSED EMBARGO.

IN A PRIVATE MEETING WITH VANCE, BRADEMAS HAS UPBRAIDED THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR AN INTERVIEW GIVEN THE TURKISH PRESS BY U.S. AMBASSADOR RONALD I. SPIERS. THAT INTERVIEW, BRADEMAS CHARGED, VIRTUALLY PROMISED THAT TURKEY WOULD SOON BE RID OF THE EMBARGO. HE WILL ALSO ARGUE IN THE HOUSE DEBATE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION FOUND LOOPHOLES TO GET NATO ARMS TO TURKEY.

ACCORDINGLY, DESPITE THEIR DECISION BRINGING CONGRESS DIRECTLY INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH TURKEY, THE PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE FAILED TO MOVE BRADEMAS AND OTHER HARD-CORE MEMBERS OF THE GREEK LOBBY. ON THIS FIGHT, IN CONTRAST TO BATTLING FOR THE PANAMA TREATIES AND THE SAUDI AIRCRAFT DEAL, CARTER IS OPPOSED BY ONE OF THE SHREWDEST OF HIS OWN LEGISLATIVE LEADERS IN THE HOUSE. CARTER'S DEMAND FOR REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO, AN ABOUT-FACE FROM CAMPAIGN STATEMENTS SUPPORTING IT, WAS CAUSED BY HIS PERCEPTION OF RISING SOVIET MILITARY POWER IN CENTRAL UNCLASSIFIED

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EUROPE. BUT THAT ARGUMENT CARRIES SURPRISINGLY LITTLE WEIGHT WITH BRADEMAS AND THE GREEK LOBBY. DISMISSING THE SOVIET ANGLE AS UNIMPRESSIVE, BRADEMAS AND HIS COLLEAGUES WILL WIELD THE PRESIDENT'S OWN HUMAN-RIGHTS CAMPAIGN AS A CLINCHER AGAINST REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO. THEIR ARGUMENT: CARTER HAS TURNED A BLIND EYE TO ALLEGED HUMAN-RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BY TURKEY ON THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS.

THE PRESIDENT MAY BE IN A LARGER AND TOUGHER FIGHT THAN HE BARGAINS FOR. WARNINGS TO THE WHITE HOUSE FROM FRIENDLY CONGRESSMEN STRONGLY URGE A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN, IN THE TWO WEEKS BEFORE THE HOUSE VOTE, AS INTENSE AS THE WHITE HOUSE PUSH FOR THE CANAL TREATIES AND THE SAUDI ARMS DEAL. ILLINOIS REPUBLICAN REP. PAUL FINDLEY HAS PASSED WORD TO THE PRESIDENT THAT A FIRESIDE CHAT, PUTTING CARTER'S PRESTIGE ON THE LINE, MAY BE THE ONLY WAY TO DEFEAT BRADEMAS.

BUT THE ADMINISTRATION'S CAMPAIGN SEEMS HALF-HEARTED BY

COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER BATTLES. ON MAY 25, KEY CONGRESSMEN BACKING THE CARTER POLICY WENT TO A WHITE HOUSE STRATEGY SESSION THEY EXPECTED TO BE ATTENDED BY CARTER,

PRESS SECRETARY JODY POWELL AND CHIEF AIDE HAMILTON JORDAN. NONE OF THEM SHOWED UP, LEAVING CHIEF CONGRESSIONAL LOBBYIST FRANK MOORE TO HOLD THE FORT.

A LOSS FOR THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE A POLITICAL HUMILIATION. MORE TO THE POINT, IT WOULD SHOW THAT, EVEN WHEN KEY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS--BOTH FOR AND AGAINST--WERE DELIBERATELY BROUGHT INTO HIS NEGOTIATIONS WITH ANOTHER COUNTRY, HE COULD NOT ASSERT HIS WILL AS PRESIDENT.  
END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 26 sep 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** TEXT, PRESS COMMENTS, ARMS EMBARGO  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 15 jun 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE152145  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EUR/SE:MCFINROW:GB  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780250-0843  
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**From:** STATE  
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**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeyyb.tel  
**Line Count:** 233  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
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**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** bd2f4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ORIGIN EUR  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 29 mar 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** N/A  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2177363  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRESS ITEMS ON CAMPAIGN TO LIFT TURKISH ARMS EMBARGO  
**TAGS:** PEPR, MASS, SOPN, TU, GR, CY, US  
**To:** ANKARA ISTANBUL MULTIPLE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/bd2f4f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014